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SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD I. BOWIE,

OF MARYLAND,

ON THE

CALIFORNIA QUESTION.

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DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 6, 1850.

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The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, on the President's Message transmitting the Constitution of California, Mr. BOWIE said:

Protracted as this debate has been, it is far from an unprofitable one, if it has in any measure shaken the shackles of prejudice, or broken the bonds of bigotry.

Mind has met mind, in free and fierce collision. Truth and error have wrestled for mastery, yet the dreariest doubts hang over our conclusions.

Complaints have been made of the length of this debate. Had the hours consumed in this discussion been days, the time would bear no proportion to the momentous consequences involved. Consequences which cannot be measured by years, but will be felt through ages yet to come, for weal or woe. In a crisis like this, every voice in this hall should be heard; the deliberate judgment of every member should be avowed, not as some have intimated, "to win golden opinions from all sorts of men;" not to criminate or recriminate, but that the collective wisdom and patriotism of this House should be combined to preserve "liberty and union now and forever, one and inseparable." To effect this, we must reason together; we must confer; we must subdue our passions and prejudices; chain down the spirit of discord, and hear with patience the sentiments of others, however opposite to our own.

Strangers, as many of us are to each other, coming from distant latitudes, educated under various influences, and contrariant institutions, a common mind, a united and harmonious sentiment can only be attained by free and full debate. Through what other channel can our hearts and minds be opened to each other? This must become literally a free *parliament*. Do gentlemen who complain of this delay, and assert that they have been ready to vote



since the beginning of the session, mean to avow that they have adopted foregone conclusions ; that they came here merely to record a preconceived sentiment, to carry out the instructions, or passions and prejudices of their constituents, irrespective of high public considerations, or force of argument ; in fine, that they are mere pipes giving out the notes of those who play upon them, and are ready, by numerical force, to decide the destinies of this Republic? If not, let them remember that delay is often most consummate wisdom. The most glorious of ancient republics, (Rome,) was preserved by delay, from Carthaginian dominion. The title of "Cunctator" was conferred on the great Fabius, as an illustrious distinction. The most renowned of modern republics may be preserved by the same means, from African ascendancy, or, (what is quite as odious,) African equality and fraternity. I advocate no factious delay, but that deliberate progress, which through discussion, enables reason to triumph over passion.

Let this debate, then, be protracted, not only from day to day, but from year to year, until some plan of accommodation and adjustment be concluded. Let it be conducted in a spirit of kindness and conciliation, that those who would otherwise be enemies, may become once more friends and brothers.

We must make mutual concessions ; adopt a system of adjustment by which honorable men can stand ; by which honorable men can abide, or else we shall become irreconcilable foes. No other feeling can animate a man worthy of a place in this hall.

Gentlemen on both sides of the chamber have sought for the origin of this controversy ; some have ascribed it to Abolitionism ; others to the annexation of Texas. In my judgment, its origin dates much further back ; it may be traced for centuries in the history of mankind ; it is that zeal without knowledge, which has lit the torch of persecution, and desolated so many lands in the name of religion. A species of Protestant Jesuitism, an attempt to engraft on our political system, spiritual dogmas, to effect indirectly what cannot be done directly ; to exercise control over the consciences of men, through the ballot-box, notwithstanding the Constitution declares, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." It is an attempt to add a new commandment to the decalogue, to interpolate the Holy Scriptures ; to convert the Government of the United States into a Church, in which none shall enjoy its temporalities, without professing one tenet, to wit, that slavery is sinful. This is one aspect of the case, and I venture to say, when the matter is calmly investigated, this will be found one of the most potential causes of the discussions which distract us. The other is, lust of power ; an overweening anxiety for the emoluments of office and pride of place, which prompt a desire to annul the three-fifths principle of the Constitution, securing to the slave States, representation for that proportion of the colored



population—in consideration of their bearing the same proportion of direct taxation.

When I avow these opinions, I mean no reproach to those who are perhaps unconsciously influenced by these considerations. I know the fallibility of the human heart. The purest men are often unconscious of the springs of the motives which actuate them. How many have persecuted their fellow man unto death, believing they were doing God service. The great apostle of the Gentiles was bent on dragging the christians to captivity and death, until he was arrested by the lightning of Heaven.

An unholy alliance between church and State, has been thus effected, to exclude slavery from the territories and abolish it in the District of Columbia.

I do not mean to enter into any argument with gentlemen who denounced the institutions of the South, upon the moral character of those institutions, because I deny the jurisdiction, the power of Congress to legislate on the subject. I recognise no authority in the Federal Government to question the most sacred of all rights, the right of self-government, in the States. It is their reserved, inalienable, exclusive right to regulate their domestic relations. The States entered into the Confederacy as equals, and we will continue to be equals, if we remain together. My present design is to show that while anti-slavery men are advocating the cause of human liberty, as they assert, they are violating the rights of conscience and free inquiry. They cannot investigate their own action without admitting that their impressions of moral obligation are the reasons assigned as their motives. They invoke the opinion of the civilized world against us, to prove they are right. Admit, it for argument's sake, and for argument's sake only. Is there any clause in the Constitution which authorizes you to inquire into our religious creed, and make our tenets the basis of legislation?

If our creeds permit us to hold slaves, have you any constitutional right to proscribe us for doing so? Suppose instead of the words "provided involuntary servitude shall not exist there," as proposed by the Wilmot proviso, they had been, "provided the Roman Catholic creed shall not be professed there," can any one doubt they would have excited shouts of scorn and derision? Would they not have been denounced as a most unwarrantable interference with the rights of conscience and free inquiry? Yet, what is the difference in principle? The Wilmot proviso is moved and sustained, because its friends think slavery sinful: any sectary who believed the doctrines of that church unfounded, might as constitutionally move their exclusion.

You united with our ancestors in 1776, when they had this institution in their midst. You invoked their aid against your enemies, and had the benefit of their strong arms and stout hearts. Maryland was then prosperous and happy. She had no griev-



ances to redress, no wrongs to complain of; peace and plenty prevailed throughout her borders. The cry of Massachusetts touched her heart. She sent her battalions to Boston. For the abstract principle, "no taxation without representation," she embarked in the seven years' war, and through the darkest periods of the strife, fought without belonging to the Confederacy. Why did she refuse to join it? Because of the Wilmot proviso principle of those days.

New York, Virginia, and other large States, claimed exclusive right to the wild lands lying between the frontiers and the Mississippi. Maryland insisted that policy and justice demanded "that a country unsettled at the commencement of the war, claimed by the British Crown, ceded to it by the treaty of Paris, if wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasures of the thirteen States, should be considered common property." This was her creed seventy years ago. Common effort, common treasure, and common cause, made common property, to be administered for the benefit of all. She instructed her delegates not to sign the articles of confederation until this principle was admitted. Yet she did not in the meanwhile withhold her contributions of men or money; but the fields of Saratoga, Eutaw, and Camden, were fertilized by her blood.

The distinguished and eloquent gentleman from New York, (Mr. J. A. KING,) addressing the Committee, a few days since, claimed for his State the merit of having first ceded her interest in the western lands to the United States. An honorable member from Virginia assumes that honor for the Mother of Statesmen; but if history and the records of the times do not mislead us, the merit and honor are exclusively Maryland's. Her bold protest first drew the attention of the Congress of the Confederacy to the justice of her demands, and her constant refusal to join the Confederacy until they were acknowledged, ultimately induced the recusant States to acquiesce.

New York, however, is not stripped of her laurels. Her act of 1780, entitled "An act to facilitate the completion of the articles of confederation and *perpetual union* among the United States of America," declares "nothing under Divine Providence, can more effectually contribute to the tranquility and safety of the United States, than a federal alliance, *on such liberal principles as will give satisfaction to its respective members*," "and the people of the State of New York, being on all occasions disposed to manifest their regard for their sister States, and their earnest desire to promote the general interest and security, and more especially to accelerate the federal alliance, by removing, as far as it depends on them, the beforementioned impediment to its final accomplishment," therefore it enacted.\*

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\* See Hickey's Constitution U. S. p. 406 to 411.



Such was the magnanimous devotion of New York in 1780, to the preservation of the Union. She was willing to promote the general interest and security by removing, as far as it depended on her, the only impediment; let New York of 1850 emulate her example. She is represented here by a band of chosen sons, distinguished for talent, eloquence, and influence. The destinies of a nation of twenty millions are in their hands. Will they not contribute to the tranquility and safety of the Union by sustaining a compromise, "on such liberal principles as will give satisfaction to its respective members?" Let not the cry of *Repeal* frighten them from their patriotic purpose. Seize the occasion, gentlemen, to crown your State with a wreath of unfading renown. Then will she be the Empire State indeed, wielding not only the power of patronage and place, but commanding the hearts of the Republic. We do not invite you to political suicide. We invoke you to plead the cause of justice and right before your enlightened constituencies. Remind them of what their fathers have done; the glories of the past, the pride of the present, and the hopes of the future. They will listen and approve; but if you fall, you fall in a cause which will ennoble and embalm the memory of its advocates.

The principles which Maryland avowed and maintained in 1780, she still adheres to. Justice and right are immutable. The acquisitions of the Mexican war are as much the result of common effort, common treasure, and common blood, as the acquisitions of the Revolutionary war.

The General Government has no power to dispose of the one, more than the other, for the benefit of one, to the exclusion of others. The Legislature of Maryland has recently reasserted, in a series of resolutions which I send to the Clerk, the policy and position she formerly maintained.

#### RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MARYLAND.

**FIRST.** *Resolved unanimously by the General Assembly of Maryland,* That the State of Maryland ceded to the United States that part of the District of Columbia originally embraced within her territorial limits in good faith for a permanent seat of Government of the Union, relying upon the integrity of purpose on the part of the General Government, and upon its strict compliance with the terms of cession in their letter and their spirit.

**SECOND.** *Resolved unanimously,* That the State of Maryland never designed, nor did the General Government at the time of cession contemplate, the using of the sovereignty over the District of Columbia, to the detriment of the local institutions of the State of Maryland.

**THIRD.** *Resolved unanimously,* That the State of Maryland, was at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and is now in feeling, and in all the features of her Constitution, and her laws, essentially, fully, and unequivocally a slave holding State.

**FOURTH.** *Resolved unanimously,* That any attempt by Congress to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, would be a violation of the implied conditions of the cession, a just cause of alarm to the slaveholding States, and have a direct and inevitable tendency to disturb and endanger the Union.



FIFTH. *Resolved unanimously*, That the State of Maryland loves and values the Union, for the glories of the past, the happiness of the present, and the high destinies of the future; and she believes no truly American, and patriotic heart, would wish to disturb the great compromises which have made, and can alone sustain and preserve it; or would willingly use the powers of the Federal Government for the purpose of oppressing or trampling upon the rights and interests of any of the States.

SIXTH. *Resolved unanimously*, That the Territories of the United States belong to the several States of this Union, and the Congress of the United States cannot rightfully pass any law, or do any act which is calculated to prevent or deter the citizens of the said States from removing to and settling with their property of every description upon said Territories.

SEVENTH. *Resolved unanimously*, That we recur with pride and satisfaction, to the conciliatory and friendly feeling that pervaded the Council Board, of the Old Thirteen States, when our present glorious Constitution was made, and following the example, then set by our fathers, we would, in this our day of difficulty and trial, invoke a similar spirit to attend the distracted Councils of the Federal Union; but if we be disappointed in this, our solemn and earnest invocation, it is due to ourselves and to the people of the United States, that we should declare that Maryland will take her position, with her Southern Sisters, in the maintainance of the Constitution, with all its compromises, the preservation of the Union, and the vindication of her own just Rights.

EIGHTH. *Resolved unanimously*, That our Senators in Congress, and our Representatives be requested to act in conformity to the foregoing resolutions.

NINTH. *Resolved unanimously*, That the Governor of this State be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the Executive of each of the States of this Union, with the request that the same be laid before their respective Legislatures, and also a copy to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

We hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of certain resolutions, which passed both branches of the General Assembly, at December session, 1849.

Given under our hands at the City of Annapolis, this 28th day of February, 1850.

GEORGE G. BREWER, *Clerk House Delegates, Md.*

JOS. H. NICHOLSON, *Clerk Senate, Md.*

The 6th Resolution, the Committee will perceive, is but the re-enactment of the doctrine of 1788, amplified and applied to the present condition of affairs. Then, Congress resolved *that it be earnestly recommended to those States who have claims to the Western country, to pass such laws and give their delegates in Congress such powers, as may effectually remove the only obstacle to a final ratification of the articles of confederation*, and that the Legislature of Maryland, be earnestly requested to authorize her Delegates in Congress, to subscribe to the said articles.

Then, in the midst of danger and dismay, the North as well as the South, sought our alliance, and considered us as peers. Then, to propitiate, and perpetuate the Union, the property to be wrested from the common enemy, was conceded to be common property.

Now, when the peril is past, and property has been wrested from the common enemy, by common effort, common treasure, and common blood, the North would encumber it with conditions which renders it inaccessible and valueless to the South. You propose no restrictions you say, but only provide that involuntary servitude shall not exist there.

Is it no restriction to be compelled to part with the great mass of your moveable property, before emigrating, or not migrate at all. To be forced to sever all the household ties, which bind the



master to his slaves. To strip yourselves of the most available means of encountering and overcoming the difficulties of a new settlement. Obstacles like these as effectually exclude the Southern emigrant, as if the territories were enclosed by an iron wall, which reached to Heaven.

Terms, or provisoes like these, destroy the independence of private judgment, in morals and religion, they admit the right of Government, to prescribe by law, what is right and what is wrong, and to impose the most onerous penalties upon those who believe as their fathers did.

Such provisoes are incompatible with the personal and political equality, guarantied by the Constitution to the citizens of the several States, and inevitably tend to subvert the basis of representation and direct taxation established by that instrument. They amount to a legal proscription and denunciation of fifteen States of this Union, as living without God in the world. No anathema thundered from the vatican, in the palmiest days of Papal power, ever uttered a more blighting curse, or assumed with bolder hand, the vicegerency of God.

I am constrained by these considerations, in the name of the people whom I have the honor to represent, to protest against such injustice, and to avow their inflexible hostility to such a basis of settlement.

Of the other plans submitted, time does not permit a minute examination and comparison. The Committee are familiar with their distinctive features. The first proposes the admission of California alone, as a State, without modifying in any respect her representation or boundaries, and leaving the Territories of Utah and New Mexico in their present position, until they shall adopt Constitutions, and apply for admission as States. The second (although not now under consideration) is that known as the Compromise Bill of the Senate, a plan matured by the conjoint deliberation and patriotic devotion of the most eminent members of that body, and approved, in the progress of debate, by others, whose lives are a guaranty that the Republic shall suffer no wrong.

The peculiar merit of this project is, that all the controverted points between the North and South are included and adjusted; mutual concession marks every clause. The spirit of "union for the sake of the Union" pervades the whole.

The lucid and cogent report which accompanied the Compromise Bill is before the Committee and the country. If it has not met with a cordial approval in this body, (as has been intimated,) I have reason to believe it is cordially welcome to the hearts of the people. They have hailed it as the ark of safety, the olive branch which denoted the subsiding of the waters.

This platform is broad and firm enough for all who are willing to legislate (in the language of New York) "for the tranquility



and safety of the United States," *on such liberal principles as will give satisfaction to its respective members.*

One of the opponents of this amendment (Mr. MEACHAM) has urged, that it was the indefeasible right of this House to vote upon every proposition singly, and on its own merits; that to vote against the admission of California alone, would be like shutting the ports upon a gallant ship, just entering from an outward voyage, and grappling to her, hulks incapable of motion.

It is the indefeasible right of the representatives of the people to model their legislation according to the exigency of the times. No act of legislation can be so isolated, as to have no relations, antecedent or subsequent. An infinite chain of cause and effect pervades the whole. In this instance, there is a political, as well as moral connection.

The Territories of California, Utah, and New Mexico, are literally cognati; children of the same birth; brought into being, as subjects of legal action, by the same great national event—the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The same rights and obligations attach to each; they should be, equally, objects of our solicitude and care. The admission of one separately, without stipulation as to the rest, may jeopard the ultimate condition and equality of the others. But, above all, the predetermined design of some statesmen, if not States of the North, to engraft upon the newly acquired territories organic regulations, which shall appropriate them exclusively to people of one political and religious creed, renders it impossible for Southern statesmen to advocate separate action, while there is the remotest hope of combining them in one great scheme of adjustment.

Regarding the Compromise Bill as securing to the citizens of the South the right of emigrating to the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, *with their property of every description*, subject to the laws of the United States, as extended by conquest over them, and without restriction, except such as may be imposed by the people of those Territories, in Convention assembled, to form a Constitution; as offering a means of recovering fugitive slaves, in consonance with the provisions of the Constitution; as holding out the only practicable mode of adjusting the complicated boundaries of Texas and New Mexico; and as an equivalent for all these, to the North, admitting California, with her anti-slavery Constitution, and abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia, in giving it my cordial support, I deem myself obeying the injunctions of my State, when, in her 7th resolution, she points with pride and satisfaction to the conciliatory feeling which pervaded the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution, and invokes the same spirit to preside over and direct our distracted councils.

In commenting upon this Compromise, an honorable member from New Hampshire, (Mr. Tuck,) deemed it a misfortune that



the Whig party had been governed by great men for the last forty years, and in his ardor was understood to pray, that God would take the most gifted of gifted men to his bosom. For my part, Mr. Chairman, though no enthusiast, I regard it as a benign interposition of Providence, that the great light of former days has been preserved to guide us in this hour of difficulty and danger. A misfortune that the Whig party should be led by such a man! Has the honorable member forgotten the inestimable services of that genius? Has he forgotten that his voice roused the dormant energies of our infant Republic to grapple with the mistress of the seas, and strung the nerves of those who struck for "free trade and sailor's rights" in the war of 1812? that his voice animated our armies, and secured victory to our feeble fleets. It was his voice first hailed the Republic of the South, and almost called them into being. His name is now echoed in the cloud-capped Cordilleras, and dies away but to be repeated in the valleys of Grenada. Greece, surrounded by oriental despotism, acknowledges him as her benefactor. When his country forgets his services, may I forget I am an American.

Alluding to that Senator's bold and graphic figure, illustrative of the dissensions which divide us, that honorable member said the very boys and girls in the galleries of the Senate laugh when they hear of the five bleeding wounds of the country. May their smiles never be dimmed by tears. If they laugh, it is the laugh of ignorance, of deluded security—the silly laugh of children incapable of appreciating the condition of the country. Men cannot laugh—men who, like ourselves, have seen and felt the crater on which we stood heaving with the throes of volcanic action. Can we so soon forget the tumultuous and disorganized condition of this House a few months since—the intense excitement and imminent danger of personal collisions on this floor—the general apprehension that this Hall might be the scene of a gladiatorial drama, the precursor of civil war—the deep distrust which prevented the election of subordinate officials lest they might be tainted with the leprosy of slavery, or abolitionism, and prove recreant to the North or to the South. Are these not wounds upon the body politic, the Union? Even now, the gentleman from New Hampshire complains, that all useful legislation is suspended; that the looms and forges are silent and deserted; that the people cry in vain for protection and relief from unnecessary burdens. Whence this suspense—this disregard of great public interests? Because public confidence in the perpetuity of the Union has been shaken; because the representatives of the people here assembled hesitate to embellish, adorn, or improve the exterior frame of Government, when disease is preying on its vitals and threatening its existence. May we not say then, in the language of another distinguished Kentuckian, with slight modi-



fication, and as much truth and eloquence as when originally uttered, "the heart of the Union is bruised, but not broken."

When a member from Pennsylvania (Mr. STEVENS) uttered the sentiment so frequently commented on, that a cordon of free States should be drawn around the slave States, and the latter be thus forced to manumission, I considered it an ebullition of that ardor, which often prompts the lips to utter what the heart does not approve. But when another member from that State (Mr. HOWE) repeated and endorsed the sentiment, avowing it to be the common opinion and design of the Whigs and Democrats of the North, to draw this cordon around us, and force us to manumit our slaves, my blood boiled with indignation. I trembled for the safety of the Union. A conspiracy more monstrous and abhorrent to civilized man could not be conceived. Force us to manumission! What is it but to force us to fraternity and amalgamation with the negro race, or to an exterminating, servile war. A war in which there would be no quarter, no prisoners—victory or death—in which the South, like ancient Sparta, must strangle the children born in her own bosom. No portion of the North can entertain so nefarious a purpose. I rejoice, for the sake of human nature, that the sentiment is disavowed by many noble minded men of the North—that I have it in my power to show, by documents emanating from the Legislature of Pennsylvania, that her citizens are libelled by ascribing to them such intentions. The Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, in a late report, which I understand has been since adopted, use the following language:

"We cannot, perhaps, better set forth the Pennsylvania feeling on the subject of our federal relations, than by making the following extract from the inaugural address of a recent Chief Magistrate of this Commonwealth, (Governor PORTER,) in his induction into office, in January, 1839; the sentiments contained in which, met an almost unanimous response from our citizens:

"The position which our Commonwealth occupies, as a member of the Union, should never be lost sight of. For whilst, as to all the purposes not delegated to the General Government, she is an independent sovereignty; yet as to all granted to the confederation or Union, she must exercise her authorities in subordination to the General Government, evincing a proper regard for, and subordination to, that Government, in all things properly pertaining to it. The government of the States should ever exercise a careful vigilance for the preservation of their own rights, that the objects of the Confederation may be fairly effected, and the harmony of the system of government, without parallel in ancient or modern times, be preserved in all its beauty and symmetry.

"It is not sufficient that there should be a cold compliance in terms with the letter of our Constitution; there should be a proper national feeling of brotherhood kept up; we should exhibit, in all our conduct, that we are members of a great and powerful Union of free States, who have made certain terms and conditions by way of mutual concession and compromise, in order to promote the general good of the whole. The old articles of Confederation, as well as the present Constitution of the United States, were the results of these feelings and these concessions and compromises. A due regard to that good faith which should ever characterize the conduct of Republican States, would seem to require that a contract or compact of union thus formed, *should be kept not only inviolate in terms, but in spirit also.*

"When the infant States of the Union united together in the Revolutions, for the common defence, under the feeble bonds of the old Confederation, and when necessity drove



us to form something more definite and binding—which brought about the Constitution of 1788—involuntary servitude was the subject of much discussion, argument and concession. It was finally disposed of in the manner pointed out in the latter instrument. To agitate the question anew, when it was thus satisfactorily settled, is not only unwise and impolitic, *but is a virtual breach of good faith to our brethren of the South, and an unwarrantable interference with their domestic relations and institutions*, and is calculated to do positive injury to the African race, there held in servitude, for whom in her policy, and within her own borders, Pennsylvania has always shown a becoming sympathy. I can never, in the official station which I occupy, consent to countenance a course which may jeopard the peace and harmony of the Union, without answering any good purpose in the end. It shall meet with no encouragement at my hands.”

These are the noble, patriotic, and truly American sentiments, which the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania *unanimously declare* “set forth the Pennsylvania feeling on the subject of our federal relations.” These are the arguments used by them for repealing so much of their legislation as prohibited their officers from aiding in the execution of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and the act of Congress of 1793, for the recapture of fugitive slaves; a repeal which they say “would have a soothing tendency upon our relations with our sister States, and show they are willing to make some sacrifices for the peace and safety of the Union.

Mr. Chairman, the Committee of the Judiciary of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, have spoken and acted wisely; their advice and example have had a most soothing influence upon the exasperated feelings of the South, and allayed in a great degree the irritation excited by the unfriendly legislation to which they refer. We are no longer disposed to recollect or recall the instances in which a different feeling was manifested by the Legislature and citizens of that State, but hail the sentiments now avowed and recently adopted there (as I am informed) as the harbinger of peace and good will. Which are we to regard as the exponents of public sentiment in that State: the committee and and Legislature of Pennsylvania, or the two members of that State in this Hall, who have announced sentiments so hostile to the spirit and and preservation of the Union?

In the series of resolutions which I have sent to the desk, the General Assembly of Maryland has clearly and candidly declared the objects of the cession of the District of Columbia, and the limitations resulting from the end in view, and the intent of the parties. The object was the creation of a permanent seat of Government. The District was designed to be the Elis of the Confederacy, a neutral or sacred territory, where the Government might reside, and Congress assemble, without danger of being overawed by the power of any State. Maryland being a slave State, without any purpose of prospective emancipation, never designed to cede a fulcrum, on which a lever might be placed, to overturn her domestic institutions.

The stranger who is welcomed to a hospitable roof, midst storm and tempest, and bade to feel himself at home, “for all he wants



are his," might as well apply a torch to the thatch which protected him, and justify his act by the words of welcome, as the General Government assume to manumit the slaves of the District of Columbia, under the terms used in the Constitution or the acts of cession.

Congress will recognize in the firm, yet moderate language of the resolutions, that conscious courage which scorns to menace, or be menaced.

Maryland is indignant at the wrongs which her citizens have sustained, but she does not bring her complaints here to disturb the public peace. She could unrol a long list of grievances; she forbears while there is a hope of voluntary reparation.

She expects Congress to exercise its constitutional powers to prevent their repetition; if Congress fail, she will adopt such means as the occasion demands. All that the Constitution guaranties to her, she will demand; all that it requires of her, she will perform. When a *casus belli* occurs, she will be found assuming a tenable position, not defending those which put her in the wrong.

Congress has the unquestionable power to admit new States. When and how, are questions of expediency, to be determined by circumstances. No injudicious exercise of a constitutional power will induce the State of Maryland to secede. She will only withdraw herself from the Union, when the Federal Government violates its constitutional powers for purposes of oppression, or perverts acknowledged powers to the same uses.

Maryland recognizes no necessary antagonism between herself and other States; she believes in no malicious combinations against her citizens or her institutions in any integral portion of the Union. She is aware there are combinations of individuals actuated by motives before adverted to, against domestic slavery, yet she relies upon the guaranties of the Constitution, and the integrity of the masses in those States where the combinations exist, to counteract or suppress them. If these fail, she will do as our ancestors did: suspend all trade with the hostile States, concentrate her patronage on friendly States, strengthen herself at home, fill up her arsenals, enroll her men, but still adhere to the Constitution. Let the breach come from the other side. Encourage free trade, build your own ships, prefer Southern ports, these and other obvious expedients are still left us, before the die is cast.

If the great staples of trade, as we are told, are produced in the South, may not the South direct their destination. Cannot the supplies of the South be drawn from other ports than those of the North. Is New England the workshop of the world? Need we buy any fabric in a State whose citizens combine against us? Are there not colleges and scholars enough at home, to rear our rising youth? Must your employees, your teachers, your preachers, your manufacturers, be drawn from the Northern States?



The South, though constituting but a third of the numerical strength of Congress, need not fear annihilation. In proportion as the number of States is multiplied, so will their interests be diversified. The rising power of California may be a counterpoise to the increasing power of the North. What have we to fear from a great State on the Pacific? She will be our natural ally; she must have cotton and sugar from Mississippi and Texas. Her population will be no propagandists; they will find in her own borders, and the isles of the ocean, verge and scope enough for the most expanded philanthropy.



